

AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION
INTERVIEWS WITH
RAY JENKINS

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
TRANSCRIBER - MARY MORGAN
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE
MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY

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NOVEMBER 14, 1976

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

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ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY

Jenkins

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

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PLACE Knoxville, TN.

DATE Nov. 14, 1976.

Ray Jenkins
(Interviewer Ray Jenkins)

Charles W. Crawford
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
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THE DATE IS NOVEMBER 14, 1976, AND THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. RAY
HOWARD JENKINS IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR.
CHARLES W. CRAWFORD AND IS TRANSCRIBED BY MARY JANE MORGAN. INTER-
VIEW I.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Jenkins, I suggest that we start by get-
ting a brief biography of yourself up until
the time you first came in contact with Governor Dunn. You might
start, if you wish, with something about your parents, where and when
you were born, your education, and your experience up to that time.
But deal with it any way you wish.

MR. JENKINS: I'm afraid, Doctor, it won't be too brief, be-
cause you're covering a span of many years,
my age now being eighty, or it will be next March, long before this
is ever put in concrete form. I was born in Cherokee County, North
Carolina, on March 18, 1897, in a little village called Unaka, an
Indian name, of poor parentage.

While living there, my father attended medical college. He was
a very ambitious man. And between school semesters, he actually
practiced medicine back there in the mountains, of course not being
licensed to do so, mostly delivering babies, for which he got a fee
of five dollars, frequently not in money but in calves, shotguns, hams

of meat, and things of that sort. Incidentally, the other doctors in Cherokee County didn't like that. They went before the grand jury and had my father indicted. He had a friendly attorney general who passed the cases from time to time until finally there were seven indictments returned against my father for the illegal practice of medicine. He made an arrangement with the attorney general to leave Cherokee County and come to a little village called Rural Vale in Monroe County, Tennessee, just over the mountains.

And so you might say, Doctor, that in a sense we were refugees from justice. The cases were all dismissed. My father's record was cleared. I was some four years old when we came across the mountains and settled in Monroe County. A few years later my father moved into a little town named Tellico Plains, the original name being Tallequah, T-a-l-l-e-q-u-a-h, an Indian name. We were still in Cherokee country.

There I grew up from the age of ten to maturity. I was the first shoeshine in Tellico Plains. There was not a single colored family in that town of, then, approximately, we'll say, 1500 people. And incidentally there is not one today. There never has been, a fact of which I am ashamed, because I am a strong integrationist. I graduated from shoe shine to soda jerk. That was a lumber town. We were in a great forest. The Babcocks had bought several hundred thousand acres of virgin timber, established what we call a band saw mill, sawing a hundred thousand feet of lumber a day. I was then vitally interested in sports. And I knew the line-up of every big league baseball team at the age of ten. My great hero was Christy Mathewson, pitcher of the New York Giants. Therefore I gave up the job as soda jerk and

went to the lumber yard as water boy at fifty cents a day, eleven hours a day, in order to develop muscle and a physique. And I did.

I later became the champion wrestler in my company on the Mexican border. While serving as water boy, I of course put me up a chin bar for the purpose of developing muscle, and was able to do chin-ups up to fifty at a time and to the neglect of the lumber men. I recall that we had one big red-faced Irishman named Redd Webb who would get drunk, as many of them would over the weekend, and Monday morning would be spitting cotton and yelling for the water boy while I was doing chin-ups. And when I'd get to them they'd drink half my bucket of water and splash the other half in their face. From there I went to the Mexican border on the Pershing expedition. You're too young, Doctor, to know what that was.

DR. CRAWFORD: Just before World War I, sir?

MR. JENKINS: How's that?

DR. CRAWFORD: Just before World War I?

MR. JENKINS: Just before World War I is correct. A Mexican outlaw named Pancho Villa, V-i-l-l-a, was committing all kinds of depredations in Texas. And the President sent General Pershing down there with an expeditionary force to capture him and to restore order. We had a company of militia in Tellico Plains, and I'm sure I would have died if I hadn't gotten to go along. I joined when I was a little young. They sent us to Nashville for training. My father, who was a great believer in education went over to get me out on the grounds that I was illegally in service, not old enough. He raised so much cain that he himself was arrested and put in the

guard house. We made peace. He went home convinced that the military was stronger than he was.

We served our sentence there, I might call it. And about that time, about the time we were mustered out we got in World War I. Well, I had been billeted in the hot sun in Texas in a little town on the border and was bored to death, and decided that I would volunteer for the Navy and did, having visions of seeing the world and a lot of action, was sent to San Diego, California, to Balboa Park for training. There I never even got on a row boat. Spent my sentence there. While there, one day, we heard every whistle in the San Diego harbor blowing, and we knew what it meant. The armistice had been signed. Of course, we were all happy. The next day I got a call from the commanding officer to come to his office. And he said, "Jenkins, I have orders from Washington to release you to go home."

That doctor-father of mine had also heard the mill whistles, and he knew what it meant, and he caught the train, went to Washington, saw his congressman, got preferential treatment for me, far more than David Schine ever got in the army. And the result was that I was discharged, came back home and immediately put in the University of Tennessee, where I graduated in 1920. I took the bar examination a year before graduation, passed it. So I have been a member of the Bar, Doctor, from 1919 up to the present time, covering a span of 56 years.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was that usual, to pass the bar exam before graduation?

MR. JENKINS: Yes, I did.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was that usual, for people to do that?

MR. JENKINS: No sir, it was not. Most Unusual. And the dean, Dean Turner of the College of Law, begged and pleaded with me not to do it, because he felt that I would pass and would not come back and graduate, but I did. So I have been a member of the Bar for 57 years, it is. And have been regarded as a very busy man and primarily a trial lawyer. It's been my lot to become what is known as a criminal lawyer. In my career, I have handled more than 600 homicide cases, more than 600. Figure that in your mind, Doctor, and that doesn't amount to a, I would say, a great deal, because that is less than one a month.

But I was in a very prominent case in my home county at the outset of my practice. It was a case of considerable notoriety. A mountain moonshiner had beaten his wife to death while he was drunk with a barrel stave, and rammed it through her body. The hue and cry went up for a lynching. His mountain friends employed me to defend him, against the wishes of my parents and friends, all saying that they were going to hang him and it would ruin me. But we saved his life. From that time on I was in every murder case in Monroe County for many years.

About that time the two leading criminal lawyers in Knoxville died, Fred Halk and Foots Rogers. And I would say I inherited their practice, with the result that I tried criminal cases and homicide cases in practically every county in East Tennessee, and am still active in the practice of law. While I'm, you might say, eighty years of age, I enjoy good health, perfect health, due to my lovely wife over there, my bride of twelve years, Doctor, she being my second wife.

DR. CRAWFORD: What year did you transfer to Knoxville, Mr. Jenkins?

MR. JENKINS: I established my law office in Knoxville in 1920 when I got my license. But this was the base of my operations. As I have said, Monroe County is only an hour's drive from here. And I would simply commute from here to Madisonville, the county seat, to try those cases.

DR. CRAWFORD: May I ask, for the record, Mr. Jenkins, if you care to give this, what percentage of success you have had with these 600 homicide cases?

MR. JENKINS: I have had a fairly good percentage, else I would not have been employed in that many cases. I would say, without being too immodest, that we have had, maybe not phenomenal success, but we have been in the prominent cases. Criminal cases are widely advertised, as distinguished from civil cases. And the notoriety one gets is their advertisement-- brings to them a great deal of work. I tried one murder case here representing a prominent dentist in Jefferson County four times before we ever got a verdict of "not guilty." He had shot and killed his wife five times with a 38 caliber pistol in his little office. And we had three hung juries and finally got a verdict of "not guilty".

There's never been a time in my life, professional life, that I haven't had a number of homicide cases pending. Have some very important ones now. In all the cases we've tried, we've never had a man 'hanged', we say. 'Electrocuted' is the word. We got one verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree" with the death penalty attached,

but the Court of Criminal Appeals has reversed that.

Now, that brings you up to date, and that's too lengthy, as far as I'm concerned.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, it's very interesting, sir.

MR. JENKINS: Let me tell you about my dear friend Winfield Dunn. Are you ready for that?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir.

MR. JENKINS: One morning I was sitting in my private office. and in walked my oldest and most trusted secretary, a handsome, I might say, good looking widow who's been with me now for 20 years. We have had five secretaries operating in the reception room. In effect, she said, "Mr. Jenkins, there is the most handsome, charming man I have ever met, out in the reception room. And he wants to talk to you. He's talking about running for governor. We've never heard of him, but we are simply charmed with him, and we hope you'll encourage him to run."

"What's his name, Hazel?" I said.

[She said], "Winfield Dunn."

"Well, send him in," [I said.]

It was developed that he was all they said he was, tall, lithe, handsome, articulate, bubbling with charisma. And I, too, was enchanted by him. We had quite a conversation. I found out that every odd was against him in running for governor. First of all, he was a native Mississippian. Secondly, he was a resident of Memphis, a Democratic stronghold, the Republican vote in Tennessee being in East Tennessee. He had never been in politics. He was a dentist. His family in Mis-

sissippi had had some political experience which he evidently inherited. And he had no money. Not known in the state. Most of us had never heard of him.

"Well," I said, "Winfield, the odds are against you. But you make a tremendous impression on people, as you have on me. And if you will travel over this state and meet a lot of people and make a lot of speeches, you're going to run a good race. I don't think you can be elected governor, but I don't think you'll be disgraced in the kind of a race that you will run. What you need to do is expose yourself to people, and they'll take to you. And I'm going to give you a contribution, strictly confidential, because there are several people in this race"--Am I correct that Maxey Jarman was also a candidate?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir, and Claude Robertson and Bill Jenkins.

MR. JENKINS: Yes. And I said, "Maxey Jarman is particularly a friend of mine. In 1940 I managed Wendell Willkie's campaign in Tennessee with my headquarters in Nashville. And Maxey Jarman, an industrialist in Nashville, furnished me with a lot of money to finance that campaign, and I'm obligated to him. And I'll have to vote for him and I don't want him to know that I've contributed to your campaign." But I did, not any great big amount, but a substantial amount because he'd advised me he had no money.

Well, that night he made a speech in a nearby county. And I later learned that he told his audience that he had met one of Knoxville's most prominent lawyers and he'd given him a nice contribution, but he didn't mention my name. But some of his listeners said, "Ray, we knew who he was talking about."

All right, he did exactly what I advised him to do. But as proof of how naive he was in politics, he got back to Memphis and called me long distance and asked me to be his state campaign manager. And I was then 70 years of age, had been very active in politics all my life, though I'd never run for public office, but was the fund raiser and the chairman of the Republican Executive Committee in Knox County, and very active, and was looked upon as a knowledgable man in politics. But I told Winfield that I wasn't the man he wanted. He wanted a young active man that would get around with him all over the state, and I couldn't do that.

And so he got him a real manager, managers in all the counties including your acquaintance, E.S. Bevins, whom you've already interviewed. I know I remember I put up a bet with one of my law partners that Winfield would come in second. I thought Maxey Jarman would beat him. And instead of that, he came in first. And I tried to get my partner to pay the bet off. He welched out of it on a technicality. But I contended that the spirit of the bet was that he wouldn't come in any sorse than second, but I never did collect my wager.

Well, Winfield made a good governor. His administration was not tainted or tarnished by one single scandle. His program for education, for no increase in taxes, for public health, the schools , hospitals, and public works was everything that is should be. And he went out of office four years later with flags flying. Now he's a private citizen. What for Winfield Dunn? I've thought about that a lot. He's not through by any means as a public servant. And do you know what protected him, in my mind, Doctor?

DR. CRAWFORD: What, Mr. Jenkins?

MR. JENKINS: What?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir.

MR. JENKINS: I'm going to tell you what. As you know, we have recently had--I'm a Republican, and I was a strong supporter of Winfield when he won the primary--as you know, we have had a recent national convention in Kansas City where we nominated President Ford, for President. My wife and I were for Ford, she too being a Republican and never at one time killing my vote. And Ford had a decision to make, an important decision, that is, the selection of his running mate. I had in mind two people who would carry him over, because Ford was not a strong candidate and not a strong man, not a man who would excite his supporters to a great deal of enthusiasm. You're bound to know that, Doctor.

I had in mind Howard Baker, a native Tennessean who was in the United States Senate, and one of the ablest men in the Senate, and I thought I knew that Howard could break the solid South. Jimmy Carter had been nominated by the Democrats in New York. And I expected Ford's designation of Howard as his running mate to the very minute when he made his announcement. I had been informed that there was some doubt about Howard's being selected for certain reasons. And do you know who I thought about? None other than Winfield Dunn.

DR. CRAWFORD: He would really have been a dark horse.

MR. JENKINS: And that is not provincialism, because they're both Tennesseans. That was an objective judgment. I compared Winfield Dunn to Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee.

Carter himself, likewise, was an ex-governor of the state of Georgia. He'd never handled any other important public office. He had no money. He was not, in my judgment, a strong, viable candidate. And he had selected a good man as his running mate, Senator Mondale. All right. I got to comparing Winfield Dunn with Carter. Dunn himself was an ex-governor, not necessarily known nationally, not a man of wealth.

But as between the two men, Carter couldn't hold a candle to him as far as charisma and personality are concerned. Dunn possessed the characteristics necessary to draw the public to him, to arouse public enthusiasm, strong support, to get the voters out. And that while he was not then nationally known, being nominated as Vice-President and travelling over the country, he would have the same effect on this country nationally that he had on Tennesseans when he ran for governor. And I firmly believe in my mind, Doctor, that had Ford had the good judgment, after he had eliminated Baker, to designate Winfield Dunn as his running mate, he would be the President-elect today.

DR. CRAWFORD: It was very close as it was, you know.

MR. JENKINS: Very close. And instead, he selected a man, a good man, but as a campaigner, a flop, Senator Dole, who was, I would say, innocuous as a campaigner, who not only didn't add anything to our ticket, but who detracted from it. And you will recall that he engaged, Dole did, in one public debate with Mondale in the state of Texas. And you know how Texas went--for Carter. At that time, Mondale literally snowed him under in that debate. And the political hierarchy gave it as their judgment that Mondale took

from Ford at least three per cent of the vote, which, if it had gone for Ford, would have made him the next President of the United States. So Ford flubbed again.

One other thing that Dunn had going for him, as did Carter, was that he was completely disassociated from Washington. At that time, and at this time, Washington is a dirty word. It has not yet recovered from the stench and the stink of Nixon and Agnew and of Watergate. And Carter, being completely divorced from that atmosphere, was a stronger contender than he otherwise would have been, and Dunn occupied the same status.



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MR. JENKINS: Supplementing my comments on Governor Dunn, I want to add this. As I have said before, he is not through with politics or as a public servant. I talked about his potential as a vice presidential candidate. That's water under the dam. That has passed him by. What for him next? He couldn't beat Howard Baker for senator. But there's a possibility that Howard Baker's not going to run. He comes up for re-election in two years, and Howard has publicly announced that he may not run and instead concentrate on the campaign for the presidency in 1980. That being the case, the man to run for the Senate from Tennessee two years from now is none other than Governor Winfield Dunn. He would be a natural. He's now a seasoned politician, in a sense. He is now well and favorably known all over the state of Tennessee. He's a great speaker, a great mixer, has more charisma and personality than any man I know.

In short, he's a charmer, and if I am here two years from now and Howard Baker is not running for re-election, and I don't think he will

be--Howard is so ambitious to be President--I'm going to be the first to put his name forth before the public as the Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Failing in that, he's only got two more years to run again for governor. As I remember Blanton has been in office now, you might say, for two years. And we elect another governor in two years' time. And Winfield Dunn could be the next governor. So there are two great possibilities for him, the United State Senate and the governorship. And then, if in 1980, Howard Baker fails for the nomination for President, Winfield Dunn is then available to somebody else as Vice-President. Not as President. I don't think he's ready for that, to be brutally frank about it. But he'd make the same kind of candidate in 1980 that he would have made in 1976. And he'll be available, still young, virile, active. So, he has a tremendous political future. I think, Doctor, that concludes what I've got to say about him and his future. Now, you want to ask me some questions?

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you, Mr. Jenkins, yes. I wanted to know what you remembered about the general election following the August primary in 1970. What do you remember about Winfield Dunn's campaign in Knox County?

MR. JENKINS: Oh, well, he carried on a tremendous campaign in Knox County. He was a very active campaigner. He made many, many speeches in the outlying precincts of the county as well as in Knoxville. I remember his first meeting with the press in Knox-

ville, at which I was present. And after it was over, I criticized him. I said, "Winfield, you let it be known that you were a Barry Goldwater man. I'm a Barry Goldwater man, but his name is anathema in politics. He is just too conservative, and you see what a beating he took not only in Tennessee but in every other state in the Union save, I think, seven states. And let's low-key that part of your public statements from here on." He said, "You're entirely right." I don't think he ever mentioned the name of Barry Goldwater again during his campaign.

DR. CRAWFORD: I don't remember it.

MR. JENKINS: Then he went to all the outlying counties. We made suggestions as to where he would go. Most cooperative. In short, he did what I told him in the beginning, to expose himself to the public, because he took to the public, and he out-campaigned my friend in Nashville and the others, and carried east Tennessee by a big majority, the Republican end of the state. And, of course, he swept Memphis. He almost literally got all the votes there, as you'll remember.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, east and west Tennessee carried him through.

MR. JENKINS: Yeah. Where he was well-known. When the Memphis returns came in, and we stayed up until they did come in, he was swept into office by a big majority because he simply strangulated his opponents in Memphis, and as I say, took it all. He

ate the whole thing.

DR. CRAWFORD: Another question, Mr. Jenkins. You are noted by now, although, of course, it's been developing over a while, as one of the best trial lawyers in Tennessee. Now in getting this reputation you have done a lot of public speaking and have heard a lot of other people speak to juries and other groups. Why do you think Winfield Dunn is a successful speaker? What is the cause of his success? I believe we agree he has it when he speaks to people.

MR. JENKINS: I've already told you that being a public speaker is a thing that is ingrained into a man without any exercise of his own volition. He either has it or he doesn't. He doesn't acquire it, except to a limited extent. Some men have a natural flair for public speaking, and they think better on their feet than they do in a conversation, and I think I'm one who does. When I'm on my feet before a jury, I don't take notes to a murder case. They're in my head. And I can follow the evidence in an argument before the jury, witness by witness and piece by piece from memory. Getting a little dimmer now than it used to be, but I have never sat down in a criminal case with a scratch pad and made notes, because I concentrate on what a witness is saying. I have the opportunity to either examine him or cross-examine him.

And I sit here now and tell my little wife about certain, I'd say, celebrated cases, that I've tried years ago. And I tell her every detail. And she always says, "Ray, how in the world do you remember that?"

Well, I don't remember all of them. Some of them have been dimmed by the passing of time. Some of them have been obliterated, Doctor,

I run into people now who say, "Oh, I know you, Ray. You defended my father, or my grandfather." I'm now defending the third and fourth generations of my clients. Certainly the third, maybe the fourth. Well, of course, I say, "Yeah, I remember old John well," when I have no recollection of it whatever. We went to the basketball game last night, and we couldn't get a parking space. And finally we saw a university security guard guarding a passageway into a parking lot. And we stopped, and he came up to us. I said, "My name is Ray Jenkins. That name doesn't mean a thing to you, but we are looking for a parking space." He said, "What do you mean, it doesn't mean a thing to me? It means everything to me. I know about you. You represented my uncle, H.B. Shipe. And he talked about you as long as he lived." No, no, not his uncle. His father-in-law, wasn't it? "And you represented my uncle, Grady Shipe. You used to own a farm next to him." He knew it all. So they do remember. And with the passing of 56 years and still with a busy practice, and we have that, naturally a lot of it is obliterated from my memory.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, I think so. Well, Winfield Dunn obviously has this ability to think on his feet, and I think he really likes the audience he's speaking to. Is there anything special about the way he speaks that people seem to like?

MR. JENKINS: Yes. He not only likes public speaking but he likes people, and that's spontaneous, and that's obvious.

He has a real concern for people and their welfare. And he gets that over to his audience, and that attracts his audience to him. I repeat, and I've repeated it several times, that his *forté* is in public exposure with people, because Dunn's magnetism is such that they're drawn to him.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, does the way he looks have anything to do with this?

MR. JENKINS It does. It certainly does. Appearance is a big factor to a public figure. Let's take Ford. Ford is completely bereft of animation. You may not agree to that.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir, I think that's obvious.

MR. JENKINS: That's my estimate of him.

DR. CRAWFORD: But animation--I understand, but I had not thought of that word as describing it.

MR. JENKINS: Put it another way, he's dull. Compare him with Reagan. To begin with, I was a Reagan man. Reagan drips animation. All right. Let's talk about Winfield Dunn. Winfield is not only a man of magnificent appearance. And appearance counts for a lot, Doctor. And incidentally, that's one of the weaknesses of my dear friend Howard Baker. He's a very small man in stature. He creates the image of a boy. When he announced for the United States Senate a few years ago on television, my daughter called me, who lives here in Knoxville, great friend of ours, and said, "Daddy, when I saw him on television tonight, I didn't necessarily want to vote for him, I wanted to kiss him." Well, old Winfield has the same effect on the ladies.

Put it another way, Doctor, he's got sex appeal. Maybe I ought not say this. You can delete this if you want to, but a lot of women want to go to bed with him. They feel that way. There is a physical attraction about Winfield Dunn for the women.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, women have more than half the vote these days.

MR. JENKINS: Sure do, and the women get out and vote, and the women do a lot of talking. Another one of his great assets, as I say, when he talks to you, as you and I are sitting here now or when he addresses an audience, his face is wreathed in that thing we call animation of which Ford is so bereft.

DR. CRAWFORD: You're getting into factors that aren't discussed very much in text books, but I believe they are very real, Mr. Jenkins. The appearance of a person or the animation is something that I've really not seen described anywhere. I'm not sure that you can really. But I know what you mean, and I think he does have this. And I really suspect it's a very strong factor. I suspect that the voters like a person who they think would represent them well, who would not just be honest and have good judgment, but they could be proud of in the way they look. And I think they feel this about Winfield Dunn. I suspect that is it very much.

MR. JENKINS: I agree with you, Doctor.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you think issues played much of a part in the election in 1970? Do you know of any issue that seemed very important?

MR. JENKINS: Frankly, I don't think of a one. I think that election turned on personalities, as so many do.

I have a very dear friend, Senator Henry Jackson, of the state of Washington, who is an outstanding statesman. I mean a statesman much experienced in the United States Senate. Been a loud voice there, a man of dogged determination. But Henry was not an animated man and left, you might say, a vacuum in his speeches that failed to draw people to him. And so he fell by the wayside early in the campaign.

DR. CRAWFORD: But the content of his speeches was good.

MR. JENKINS: Were good, sound philosophy.

DR. CRAWFORD: I think you're right. He certainly didn't fail on lack of content in his speeches, and on, I believe, being wrong about things. I suspect it was more other things. And I believe you're right about the election of 1970. I can't think of any issues that were really vital.

MR. JENKINS: It was decided on personalities.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you think that's often true in Tennessee?

MR. JENKINS: Yes sir. Yes, sir, not only in Tennessee, but universally. Of course, if there is a real difference between the respective candidates on a vital issue that affects public security, national defense, social reform, education, inflation, unemployment, those are real vital, viable issues. And if the respective candidates take opposing views on those vital subjects, then to a large extent the election will turn on issues.

DR. CRAWFORD: I really think that Winfield Dunn's position on those

things was not too far for Tennessee from his opponent in the race, that that was not really part of it so much. Well, how was his candidacy accepted in the general election of 1970, Mr. Jenkins? This was sort of new, having a Shelby County candidate running as the Republican nominee.

MR. JENKINS: Well, of course, we gave him practically no chance to win. I didn't. But I thought I saw that he was making enough progress to come in second, and that's when I made my bet. But in Memphis, Shelby County, where he was well-known, well-liked, loved, you might say, he gathered together a nucleus of an organization that got out and worked. And they carried on a door-ringing campaign, door-knocking campaign, telephonic campaign, with the result that, as I've said before, he took it all. Had it not been for Shelby County, you're bound to know that he would have been defeated.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, that's rather new to have two strongholds of the Republican party in Tennessee. For so long, you know, it was almost altogether East Tennessee with a little support in Shelby County. And I think in 1970 perhaps was the first race that you really had two strong centers. I know at the inaugural ball the next January, I saw a lot of people from East Tennessee and a lot from Shelby County, but not many from Middle Tennessee. During his administration, however, he ran into a good deal of trouble that was not resolved when he left. And I think specifically about three issues involving upper Tennessee, 11-W, Morristown prison, and the Johnson City

medical school. Do you see any common factors in the three of them?

MR. JENKINS: Let me see. The east Tennessee medical school in upper east Tennessee, right?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir.

MR. JENKINS: The state prison in Hamblen County, Morristown?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, sir.

MR. JENKINS: The third one you named escaped me.

DR. CRAWFORD: Highway 11-W.

MR. JENKINS: Oh, yes. Well, of course, all three were touchy subjects. But I see no correlation between the three whatever. They are completely disassociated with each other. Jimmy Quillen, the congressman from upper east Tennessee, was turning heaven and earth for a medical center in his district. And Morristown was, and Hamblen County, were turning heaven and earth to keep an establishment of a prison there away from Hamblen County. There's always a big, big hue and cry for a highway. And Governor Dunn was able to more or less placate both sides of those issues. And they had very little to do if anything with the result of the general election.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you believe those would not give him trouble if he were to run again?

MR. JENKINS: Well, if he ever runs again, he, like other men, will be living in a glass bowl and under a spy-glass. Every utterance that he's ever made in a public speech will be re-read and digested and picked to pieces, and he'll be confronted with

it. No man can run for a public office who has held public office without having some explanation to do. That is a hard and fast fact of life insofar as politics is concerned, and Winfield will be no exception. But, be that as it may, he took the wrong stand with a certain segment of people. He took the right stand with another segment of the people. One will more or less offset the other. But the plus factors that will be going for him will more than offset any embarrassment that might come to him about such issues as that.

DR. CRAWFORD: This support of upper east Tennessee was very important to him in '70, and perhaps these issues would not continue to influence people too much, say, by '78. Do you think if he faced a Democratic opponent either for the Senate or for the governor's office that it would give him trouble in East Tennessee, that is, if he faced an east Tennessee Democrat? And I'm thinking specifically about Jake Butcher, though it could be someone else possibly.

MR. JENKINS: Well, the answer is yes. It would give him trouble, certainly so. But there's nothing unique about that. As I just said, every man that has taken a stand on an issue is in trouble if it's debatable. The establishment of a medical college in upper east Tennessee is a debatable issue. Maybe we ought to have one. Maybe we oughtn't. The establishment of a prison in Hamblen County is a debatable issue. And those things will result in some trouble. But, I'm confident, not enough to beat Winfield Dunn with a Jake Butcher or anybody else.

DR. CRAWFORD: Of course, he made a lot of friends by the conduct during his administration. It was, so far as I know, in all of my study of this, an honest administration which had no scandals and nothing that really hurt him in the public mind.

MR. JENKINS: It was never under a cloud, never under suspicion, completely untainted and untarnished by any shenanigans or dishonesty or corruption.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that's true, that he did have a very good reputation when it ended, and still does.

MR. JENKINS: Still does, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, specifically, how do you think he would do in an election in Knox County? I mean, how do you think his reputation following his administration is here?

MR. JENKINS: Well, of course, Doctor, that depends on what he's running for and who he's running against, and when the election is held. As you say, people forget and they forgive. But Winfield is very popular in Knox County. And Knox County is a Republican County. And I would visualize that in Knox County--you're asking about that county particularly--in Knox County Winfield could prevail over anybody over any position which he sought.

DR. CRAWFORD: That's a strong position.

MR. JENKINS: I know that is, but that's an objective opinion.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, you've been watching it a long time, Mr. Jenkins. I know, when he went into office he was

popular here, because he carried Knox County. Do you think by the time he left office four years later that he was even more popular?

MR. JENKINS: Yes sir, I do.

DR. CRAWFORD: And of course we agree that he has the ability to go into a place and meet people and speak, and I think win them over. I believe the evidence indicates he did that before, because as you say, people did not know him when he started, so their opinion was formed by his speaking and by his getting before people. Apparently then his administration ended with his position quite strong here in the county. May I ask, though this is a little further away, what do you think of his standing in the First Congressional District? Many of his supporters felt that he had difficulty in Mr. Quillen's area, both in the campaign in 1970 and in the administration following. And I believe that's generally true. The Republican party, like others, has different personalities and different interests, how do you think he stands in that area?

MR. JENKINS: [Not] as strong as he does in the Second Congressional District. Jimmy Quillen is a very popular congressman from that district. Been in Congress now a long time. And Jimmy Quillen was very bitter because Dunn did not lend his support for the medical college. Very bitter, very critical. Dunn didn't get the vote in the First District that he should have had for that reason. Now, just how much that would carry over in another election, of course, I don't know, but I'd say that that is one of the hurdles that Winfield Dunn

would have to cross in any kind of election in upper east Tennessee.

Quillen is not the type of man to forget or forgive. He's a very dogmatic sort of person, and firm in his convictions. And he's dedicated, completely dedicated to the program of getting a medical college in Johnson City,

DR. CRAWFORD: Uh-huh. And I believe Winfield Dunn is equally convinced in his own mind that the State of Tennessee cannot afford two medical schools.

MR. JENKINS: That's right. That's right.

DR. CRAWFORD: So I don't see the position really changing there. And that may very well be the situation two years from now.

MR. JENKINS: It would be a negative factor, his future race for any office, would be that position he took. And Quillen's attitude would be a negative factor in any future election, but a positive factor in the other eight or nine congressional districts in Tennessee. Because we know that it would cost the state millions and millions of dollars. And we know that the University of Tennessee organization, which is a strong thing, is unalterably opposed to another medical college in Johnson City. And if I were advising Winfield Dunn I would advise him not to pay any attention to that.

DR. CRAWFORD: I suppose he'll simply have to write that off then, because he has taken a strong position. I don't think he can change it much. I don't suppose that Representative Quillen will.

MR. JENKINS: I think Governor Dunn has taken the correct position, bearing in mind the welfare of that state as a whole.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that he was convinced that it was the most honest position about what was good for the state.

I'm not sure how other people in the state agree, but I think it would hurt him in the First.

MR. JENKINS: I agree with that.

DR. CRAWFORD: To go down in the valley a little, and I know we're taking a good deal of your time, Mr. Jenkins, how do you think his standing was in the Third Congressional District?

MR. JENKINS: Can't give you an estimate of it. It's out of my sphere of operation. It is, more than the First and Second Districts, Democratic. You know that they elected a Democratic Congresswoman in this last election by an overwhelming majority. She carried that district overwhelmingly.

DR. CRAWFORD: And against former Congressman Lamar Baker, it was.

MR. JENKINS: Baker, yes sir. But I can't help you on that, as far as an opinion is concerned. In the Second District, which is my district, Governor Dunn is solid. In all other districts in Tennessee, I'd say that, as a candidate he's strong, possibly including the Third District, in the general election.

DR. CRAWFORD: Are there any other facts that you'd like to be part of the interview?

MR. JENKINS: I think Doctor, that we've pretty well dissected my modicum of knowledge.

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you sir.

[Break]

MR. JENKINS: Let me reply to what you have just said, Doctor, the substance of which is that you join me in hoping that we've not seen the last of Governor Dunn in public office. I want to make a prediction. Eva, my wife, and I avidly read everything that's in the newspapers and magazines pertaining to politics. We know intimately and well and belovedly, Howard Baker. I've known him since infancy--in the university with his father, close to the family. He's burning with an ambition to be President of the United States, and he'd make a good one. He has stated publicly that he might not run for the Senate again two years hence, and that to me means that he won't. There will therefore be a vacancy in the Senate from Tennessee. I predict that at that time Winfield Dunn, his statements to the contrary notwithstanding, will offer himself to Tennesseans for the United States Senate, and that he'll be elected. You say that there is nothing about his late administration as governor of Tennessee to be ashamed of. Let's put it in another way. There's everything about his administration as governor to be proud of.



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